We Then we went to
614 the boys' house in Wailolong, which turned out to
882 be a windowless house with sleeping benches in-
562 side. Here the boys from about twelve years on
[342] sleep. Thus there is a real men's house here. There are three, I think, in Wailolong, because some of the suku share houses. Normally the rule is one house per suku. It is taboo for the girls to enter these men's houses.

124 Then we went to Leloba and began on the Vatter[1] social organization material. They were delighted to see the Vatter book, especially Roy who noticed his name in it.

614 I started with the usual outline of groups and got the following list of suku and subdivisions and sub-subdivisions of the suku. I had told the guru yesterday that there must be a sub-subdivision, but he said no. He said he had thought it over and understood what I meant. The names
[171] often have direct references to parts of a house, and thus it looks like, as in Ambon, there used to be one suku to one house. Thus Ama Marang Do(ng) Lau(ng) means (the last words) bale-bale laut, i.e., in the old days the ancestors used to sleep on the bale-bale part on the sea side of the ancestral house they shared with the other division. Therefore, Ama Marang Do(ng) Rae(ng), which means bale-bale darat, or the bale-bale on the land side, was for the other division. The former has more power than the latter.

614 As for the recurring Lango' Bele', it means
565 big house, while the twin term Lango' Kene'
● 788 means small house. The former is the section of the subsib or ama, with more power. The latter is the section with less power. Maki(ng) means descendants. The whole system has reference to the rank of the sibs, which is symbolized in ritual animal killing. Thus Kottang holds the head and is the chiefly or head suku normally. The symbol is the head. Keleng holds the feet, and they are the assistant suku to the head.

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

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614 There is no use of a head without feet. At
● 988 least this is the idea. They are the leg men
565 of the head. The Hurint cuts the head off, and they also cut or finish or decide cases. Thus the double entendre words which seem to prevail in this language come to light. Also the Hurint do the praying, and in the old days the priests were from this suku as well as were the judges. The Marang passed around and still pass around sirih, or perhaps coffee today, at the rites. The Marang also acts as general helper so that if any of the other three have trouble with the beast he rushes in to aid. The function is symbolized not quite so clearly as for the other three, but the social system is symbolized in ritual which in turn reflects a system of rank and function.

632 I heard another thing which should be inter-
614 esting to follow up. The kakang is a Leboba man
583 from one of the Kottang subsibs. His sib (one
576 of the two Belepe Lolong, and must be Lango'
431 Bele' as he has much power) gives women to the guru's sib (Ama Hurint Ola Demo[ng] Lango' Bele') and must be given fowl by the latter. The latter gets women from the former, and gets fish from the former too. Thus fowl and fish form a gift exchange following the marriage exchange system. Evidently the sib that gets the women gives the fowl, and the one that gives the women also gives the fish. Could this be again the serpent and the dove? The kakang said that if he went to the guru's house and there happened to be some fowl cooking there, he must get some, or it would be a terrible breach of respect and much shame would be felt. I think this is correct, but I must check it later.

194 The peculiar nasal end sound indicated by
[114] the parentheses in my orthography is hard to get and Vatter[1] messes it up. The guru says it is hard even for a man from Larantuka town to say it.

1 [See bibliography, Cat. 113--Analyst]

582 be straight exchange. They must have one inter-
583 mediate move because of the mother's brother's
614 daughter marriage. He sees this clearly, and says that if one could marry a father's sister's daughter they could have a straight exchange. He says that they do this in Tandjung Bunga. Vatter[1] says this is not so. If they do not want to give the tusks or they do not have them, they can work out the bride price in a deal with two other sib groupings so that A will give a girl to B, B a girl to C, and C a girl to A. Thus no tusks are needed, but they act as though the tusks had actually made the rounds. It is all done in their heads. They must plan this, as not every combination will bring the exchange back to the original sib grouping in three moves. Of course, a more complicated deal can be made with many moves leading the fictitious tusks around and a girl back to the group that starts the whole thing.

836 The premarital sex relations with the arrange-
583 ment that leads to marriage which Vatter[1] calls penara is properly called penaga(ng). The guru prefers to call it bride-service, but it is not so according to Vatter[1].

The guru says there are three kinds of marriage here: capture, service (or premarital sex relations leading to marriage), and payment. He calls the last the respectable type. It requires tusks, either real or according to bookkeeping.

192 Vatter[1] makes a bad error on page 83. Kelen
114 does not mean "heaven," but only foot. The word for heaven, on which he was confused, is klng, with almost no vowels.

782 Prayer is not carried out by the Marang. The
788 word marang means to pray, and this has led to
614 the confusion that the ritual prayers at the animal killing were always done by the Suku Marang. The latter merely hands the betel around. The oldest man who is an expert, from whatever

[1][See bibliography, cat.113--Analyst]

782 suku, does the praying, as the Kottang, Kelen,
● 788 and Hurint do their jobs. The guru has seen old
614 men of all suku do the praying, but has never happened to see a Marang doing it. This is conclusive. He agrees that perhaps some relation exists between the term and the function and the suku, but he doubts it.

I read how Vatter,[1] shortly after he left
721 Leloba, heard that there was a war between Le-
682 loba and Waibalun. And right now while we are here, after nearly twenty years, there is a war between Leloba and Waibalun. They ask whether aliens here bring the wars. At present there are several Leloba men in jail because they have killed a Waibalun man (just the other day).

I read the passage in Vatter which tells that the guru's father, when he was kepala kampong, killed (I think) fourteen suwanggi in one day. The guru said that this was true and that nowadays even though there are still suwanggi the government will not allow them to be killed. The kepala kampong said that it happens once in a while that a man, plagued by the wickedness of a suwanggi, kills someone and is then sent to jail.

Then we started to work on the social organi-
614 621 zation of Wailolong. What is happening is that I am getting material on the two kampongs and maybe that is the way to present it, not explicitly, but with emphasis on Wailolong. There
[184] are noticeable contrasts with the one hundred per cent Christian community.

Ama Datong, Leworita, Ama Hurint, and Lewato,
[788] and Lewodoreng are the suku. The first plays the part of Kottang in ceremonies. Kottang is not found here. Leworita plays the part of Kelen, which is not here. Hurint is O.K. The Datong are the original settlers here.

I. Ama Datong

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

622 kelake. Evidently the kepala kampong have been
624 superimposed on the other system.
614 The purely administrative chiefs are:

Kepala Kampong Kottang (he is the kepala kampong)
Kepala Kampong Kelen (IIb)
Kepala Kampong Hurint (IIIc)

The latter two have this as their only titled rank. If I am right that the kepala kampong is also the kepala kampong Kottang, then there are really sixteen officers, i.e., actual men in office, but the total number of offices is twenty-three. Some men have more than one office. When
[788] there are ceremonies, the praying (marang) is
[887] done, not by the man from suku Marang, but by the oldest man who is clever. Here it is a man
[756] named Bugis, from IIa. He is also the molang, or medicine man. Can it be that often the two go together? The guru, as noted above, says that even in Leloba, where they have a suku named Marang, this is not the praying suku at the rites. The chief of the Marang suku is merely a hander around of betel. In Vatter's time in Leloba the one who prayed was Laba, says the guru.

614 Note that an alternative term for Ama is Mela. Thus one can say, for example, either Ama Hurint or Mela Hurint.

693 Yesterday we met the chiefs of Wailolong.
624 They were at the kakang's office for a marriage
302 case. They were partly made up of short-haired Christians, but there were also pagan longhairs. I must get a photograph of all of them together with the information on who they are. Probably the administrative ones are the modern and the adat ones are the old pagans.

614 For the kepala suku they always have an old
887 man if possible. If no old man is available, however, they may have to take a younger one.

614 I must get on to the method of choosing the
622 & [See bibliography, cat. 113 —Analyst]

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262 eaten, and this is done only during feasts. Little meat is
There are some eggs. They do not eat much
fish, because they must purchase them. They
do buy some food from the local store (never
any canned food, because this is too expensive),
[249] for example, rice and salt. They do not grow
any tobacco.

434 To get the small amount of money they need
to buy in the toko, they sell coconuts and
anything else they may have, which is usually
quite little. Fl. 5.00 in cash is a lot of
money for a man here.

264 The people here eat three times a day, a
little in the morning, and equally heavy noon
and evening meals.

262 They like dog meat and also horse meat, but
574 these, like pig and goat, are only eaten at
the time of a feast. They say that the main
feasts are funeral ones. They also say that
the people here have no decided preference
and will gladly eat any kind of meat. They
[266] say they have no memory of cannibalism except
for the eating of the hearts of enemies for
224 bravery in warfare. They rarely hunt. If they
262 do they use a bow and are lucky to get monkeys
624 or pigs. There are no deer here. There is a
clear case for meat hunger here, and the only
material gain of being a mosa laki is that you
[465] are always given a piece of meat when an animal
[171] is killed. This is like the Toradja pattern,
and shows how much of a luxury meat really is.
It is the "government man's salary."

436 Formerly there was no money and there were
178 no toko. Of course there may have been a few
443 gold pieces, but they were really sacred ob-
jects. Today they have little cash.

243 The irrigated rice fields started three
177 years ago and were instigated by Hadji Akbar
788 of Watu Roga. He went to Mecca and saw the
many sawah in Bima, Java, and elsewhere. When

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243 177 788 he came back, he at once made a sawah, and the others saw that it was good. Now, everyone plants at least one sawah. Formerly there were no sawah. This is an excellent case of acculturation via the hadj.

412 177 Formerly the people here did not use hoes or shovels. These came in at the time of the Dutch entry. Before that they had an iron tipped digging stick only. There are no carts.

493 They thought about my proposal for a group to buy one as an investment for hiring. Perhaps there is too little money even to pay for a bicycle here.

352 354 178 There are no tables, chairs, or lamps, except in rare houses like the kapitan's. The only new thing is the kerosene wick, not the lamp. It is called pelita.

342 178 The house type has changed here from a larger to a smaller structure, and many of the old style roofs are still to be seen.

291 178 Women now use bought cloth to make thin kebaya. Formerly they made blouses of homespun, but these are all gone. Men and women still wear homespun sarongs. Men wear this alone and are usually bare above the waist. If a man wears a selendang, he is a big man. If he wears a shirt, this is really very slick attire. There were no shoes here at all before, and few now.

301 753 [304] Men and women wore earrings before, the men ones of gold (look like silver) which the pagans still wear, and the women ones of a different style. The assistant's ears are pierced, but this is no longer done to the boys, only to the girls. Beads are worn by men and women on festive occasions. These are great ceremonial objects and are worn by the people who are proud of them. If one is not entitled to them, he will become sick if he wears a string of beads.

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797 works, but I wonder if there might not be trouble if the central organization of the Catholic Church knew it. Still, perhaps the Catholics are indeed less doctrinaire than the Protestants. Surely the Jesuits are, with their different approach toward ends and means. There is a big contrast here with Ambon, surely.

•788 Much of the former pagan ritual still survives. For example, there are field rites, beliefs, illness treatments, etc. The pagans still carry on plenty of the old ceremonies. Even the elaborate rites for planting, etc., continue.

241 782 796 The tuno wudjo is still an important figure in planting rites of Wailolong, but has disappeared in Leloba since Vatter's day. The story is that she is a girl who was sacrificed in Lio by her seven brothers, to make the fields fertile. (They say that this is "to make the gardens fat.") Indeed, she told them to kill her in order to help. And the pieces of her body were sent to places all over Flores to make the fields fertile. The story is also found in Adonara.

Note: Lio is a great place for human sacrifice in relation to agriculture. The Radja of Lio not long ago was executed by the Dutch, and among his crimes was listed the killing of young girls for agricultural field rites. The people of Ende know this, and it seems generally known throughout Flores.

[614] [173] Note also: according to Vatter,[1] one of the suku in Tandjung Bunga is Lio, and they are supposed to be descended from people who came from there. I wonder if perhaps this myth is not a sign of former human sacrifice in relation to agriculture all over Flores (or at least for East Flores), and it may also have originated in Lio and thence spread to here. Anyway, the

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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875 797 reason for this is that Mohammedans are not educated enough to have many teachers yet. Thus, the mission has given Catholicism a big head start, as is the case in Ambon.

771 797 There are only about ten Mohammedans in Roworeke. They had a mosque at kilometer five formerly, but it is gone now. The maximum number of converts in the kampong, to Mohammedanism, per year is from one to two. There is a chapel here, and the priest comes once a month to hear confessions, hold mass, etc. Otherwise, the people here go to Ndona for mass (I see them on Sunday walking; rain means nothing to these people). I get the impression that many people do not go to mass. For example, every Sunday I have been there, the kapitan and the assistant and many others do not go to church so far as I can see. And I don't see many women who look as though they had gone. I should have asked about this.

778 There are two ancestor grave-bone shrines, i.e., one in Roworeke and one in Watu Roga. There are also plenty of stones and the usual graves. There has never been a real rumah berhala here. But Manunggo'o had one.

527 [755] The principal feast time is at planting. The tuan tanah (mosa laki mere) must be there at that time. There is no illness exorcism feast held any more. Thanksgiving feasts for good crops are held privately, not communally. There is a great feast for rebuilding the grave-bone shrine.

• 788 [753] There is plenty of private pagan rituals, for example, to ward off illness, to make offerings to trees, and the dukun stuff. In addition, there is the bisa mari. (Having seen the dukun and how he diagnoses, I understand Migo when he said that he has a personal-family buffalo totem taboo because the dukun said it caused his illness.)

War

000 and such is used in war.

621 574 171 Correction: When there is a big feast in the central kampong, all members of the tjabang kampongs must attend. However, if a big feast is held at a tjabang kampong, it is a matter of choice whether the other tjabang kampongs and the pusat kampong attend. However, each must send a delegation. (This is like the big feasts in the Ambon pela kampongs. The pela radja and saniri must go, and others may do so if they want to.)

621 622 346 351 788 It is true that the pusat kampong has more power in a way than the others. Its drums, gongs, tjompang, main pillar of the tuan tanah house, main garden (lingko randang), and the tuan tanah besar himself are all part of this power. All others stem from these. However, the picture is not one of a clear hierarchy. Nevertheless, if a man is very sick, for example, they may decide that it is well to go to the tjompang of the pusat kampong and go through some ceremony. However, there is not a real vivid ranking or constellation of rank.

The assistant says that the round house and the round garden are definitely related. But here again he is unclear. The house is linked with the garden, and after the rites which are held in the garden, they come back to the main house. Also there is a saying: mbarun one uman peang, i.e., "house has link with garden." When a tuan tanah besar gives a drum and a gong to a new branch kampong, he also gives it a "big garden" (lingko randang). Here is where the biggest rites are held. (Lingko means only "round garden.") And when they have rites in the garden, they go directly from the lodok there to the main post in the tuan tanah house. Thus, there seems to be a definite link between

346 351 788 the main post of the big house and the main garden's lodok. There is the same parading

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346 351 788 around the main post as around the lodok (see Coolhaas).[!]

443 There is no pasar system here. There are only pedlars who carry goods around. Markets are located only in the big towns: Ruteng, Reo, Labuan, Mborong, etc.

437 There is some barter, but most transactions are carried on using cash. Before the Dutch came in there was no money here and the people had to barter.

286 784 Note and very important: There is a taboo on weaving all over Manggarai, except in the north-east quarter. The assistant can mark the border of weaving precisely. The only exception is Todo and Pongkor, where there is no taboo and there is a bit of weaving. I asked if it is a taboo or just a lack of knowledge of how to weave. He said both, but that it is definitely a taboo. If they weave, the crops will fail, and illness will spread across the land. There have been a few attempts to introduce weaving, and the crops have proven to turn bad. It has nothing to do with the totem. He says it is not tjek'i at all, but merely ireng, which means taboo. This is a puzzler, and is amazing.

871 In 1912 three 3-grade schools were opened in Manggarai: in Ruteng, in Reo, and in Labuan. In 1924, a five-grade school was opened in Ruteng. There were about forty schools in all Manggarai before the war, but only one went as far as fifth grade (the one in Ruteng). This is what the Dutch did between 1924 and 1942! There are now about sixty schools in Manggarai. The school in Tjantjar opened in 1947. It serves nine kampongs: Tjantjar, Veol, Ndung, Rai, Puruk, Sampar, Nggarang, Meler, and Tjara. The farthest kampong is Sampar, which is three kilometers walk away.

There is a fourth grade here too, serving all of Rahong. The children come from far away.

[!] [See bibliography, category 113. - Analyst]

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565 of Flores, so unlike the radjas of Celebes.
582 This is a correction of some of the previous notes, because he had said that radjas, dalu and gelarang intermarried only among each other. The truth seems to be that all except the mendi are intermarriageable.

There is still great feeling against marrying a descendant of a mendi. For example, in Pau, where there are about ten persons descended from mendi, there have been a few marriages of these families with commoners, but never with gelarang families (e.g., the assistant's). The assistant says that he would never want his daughter to marry a mendi descendant. I pressed hard on this, and asked him if he would not be willing to have his daughter marry a mendi descendant if, for example, he became a great man in Indonesia, along with the new democracy. He said absolutely not. This is a Catholic, young and educated fellow. Then I asked about his son, should he want to marry a mendi girl. He said there would be much less resistance in this case.

Among the uppers there is a great deal of inter-district marriage, for example, at the radja, dalu, gelarang and kraeng levels. There is also some inter-district marriage among the commoners.

789 The only magic power known is in the hands
756 of the mbako. They can give magical strength
565 to individuals. Thus again I see how important and powerful are these secret persons. The nobles, however, have no kekuatan adjaib.

797 The only major change in the local religion has been the introduction of Catholicism, and it has been epochal.

771 About fifty per cent of the local people are
● 788 Catholic. Just about every family has at least
183 one Catholic in it. If a Catholic wants to attend community rites, this is all right, but he

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771 should not pray. Also, a Catholic may not
●788 initiate ceremonies by himself, for example,
183 house rites. I wonder what happens to a Catholic who lives in a house with the little hanging shelves for the naga. There the shelf is over their heads, and I wonder if they do not give offerings. If I had the time I would like to trail a Catholic around; my guess is that most of them do not worry too much about orthodoxy. There is still a lot of friction here.

875 There is a guru agama for Veol and Ndung,
793 but he lives in Rai. Usually there is a guru agama for each kampong, but these are twins. Usually one pastor serves one or two dalu. Rahong has the Maumere man, who lives in Tjantjar.

797 Most conversions are made of the young through the school. There are no cases of children converting their parents. There are relatively few direct adult converts. The school does the trick. A convert must first be a catechumen and learn the ropes. This lasts for one to two years.

797 The priests worry a lot here about what to
183 do, because adat is so dependent on the old
578 ceremonies. In Larantuka they have tried to
595 Christianize the pagan rites, etc. Right here there is a real problem, as the heir apparent of the big tuan tanah of Veol is Catholic. The assistant says van Bekkum[1] has discussed what should be done with him. Then too there is the matter of polygamy, which is very strong here. Most of the outright opposition to Catholicism comes from men or women who, because of a plural marriage, are not looked upon favorably by the
[783] church. There is no possible idjing (dispensation, according to Oudehand's version[2]) for this. This is a head-on conflict, especially because they desire so many children. The polygamists

[1] [Pastor at Ruteng--Analyst]; [2] [See bibliography, Cat. 113--Analyst]

War

162 Here in Veol the Christians and pagans are also about fifty-fifty. It is notable that here in Veol many of the young people are still pagan. There is plenty of paganism still, and the Catholics, I am sure, are largely pagan. The [578] main conflict is over polygyny. But there is also plenty of general friction. It is especially bad if a man has a barren wife. He must remarry. Who will feed him when he is dead? Also, what about the ceremonies? It is all right for the Catholics to say that Christians may attend community rites, if they do not pray in pagan style, but what will happen if all of them turn Catholic? Who will be there to do the rites?

797 Note also that the last of the rites means
769 the end of relations with the thousands of dead
775 inhabitants of the kampong. The Catholics try
●788 to fix this up. For example, Roy tried to do this by saying that they are probably not around the graves but have flown off to heaven. But this is revolutionary, and changes the whole character of the settlement into a kind of "empty" place, with only living persons living in it. He told how his father's father, when his father was a boy and the guru tried to convert him, had ordered the boy not to change. And the boy didn't. He now has four wives, one of whom is the assistant's mother. Note the [771] similarity with Toradja Protestant rules. Catholics may not pray in pagan style and may not hold private rites, and they may not officiate at the rites, but they may attend.

865 Note: At the Sunday singing performance I was impressed by the good behavior of the children. This always seems to be true here in Indonesia. They are amazingly unmischievous. The guru says that almost never is there a disciplinary problem. I can see this all over. The children are adults really while still very